

Government, Party, Military and Business Relations in Vietnam: Focusing on a Comparison with China

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Introduction

At the international symposium “What are Asian Identities under Globalization” held on December 7-8, 2003 and sponsored by COE-CAS, one of the keynote speakers CAS representative Mori Kazuko provided a fascinating report entitled, “An Essay on Comparative Politics in East Asian Countries: The Asian Way in Political Structures” Mori’s hypothesis expanded on “Political Party Relations” as theorized by Fujiwara Kiichi and offered both a system and structure-based comparison of “Political Party Relations” and “Government / Business Relations” The new point of view offered by Mori’s comparison introduces points that clearly identify characteristics of the East Asian political system and further allows for a more solid understanding of the state of conventional “Socialism” and the “Capitalist Development System”, “Political Systems” categorized based on political ideology influenced by the Cold War.

This essay, branching off Mori’s report, is a proposal for speculation on the current status of Vietnam while focusing on both explicit and implicit comparisons to China.

Officially speaking, both China and Vietnam are “socialist political systems” but employ “socialist market economy” and place economic development as the country’s highest current priority. Consequently, such political and economic management has infinitely begun to resemble the “Development Dictatorships” for which Malaysia and Singapore and so well know. Vietnam has yet to reach such a state but in China at the 15th Annual Communist Party Congress in 2002, it was voted into rule that capitalists would be allowed to be Communist Party members. As a result, many new social elements have come to exist in present day Vietnam and China that would have been considered inconceivable under the traditional “socialist political system”. The aim of this essay is to summarize these changes from the perspectives of “political party relations” and “political / business relations”.

Part of what we see lies in the fact that both in Vietnam and China, since the introduction of “Market Economics”, heads of the ruling party, that is to say the Communist Party, have turned to neighboring Asian countries for case studies and actually are studying these in an effort to maintain “single-party communist rule”. For example, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yu was invited and his opinions were sought. Also, they have been studying the secrets of the semi-permanent rule of Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party. The writer had such encounters in Vietnam and was asked for the opinions of others, but, the author, who was caught up in the differences between capitalist and socialist systems, could not be sure of the aim of such efforts. However, from the viewpoint of a virtual unification of “political party relations” and “government and business relations”, it became

extremely clear that they were searching for an answer to how to move forward with "democratization" that, while maintaining the current "single party communist rule" without instituting a "multi-party political system", would allow for economic development and also would be politically acceptable on an international level. In other words, in reality, in what way the theoretical rulers of the communist party in both Vietnam and China are attempting to create a soft landing for "socialist" systems clearly can be determined through this theoretical scheme. 1. Summary of "Doi Moi (Reconstruction)" Politics. First off, let me provide an extremely barebones summarization of "Doi Moi (Reconstruction)" politics to the extent that it relates to the major points of this essay.

After foundation of the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam" in 1945, Vietnam has since taken on a socialist political system. From 1976, after fighting and winning the "1st Indochina War" (1946 – 54) against France and the "Vietnam War" (1961 – 75) against America to achieve unification, Vietnam, as the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam", worked to build a "socialist political system" on the national level. The Vietnamese communist party, full of confidence after its victory in war against America, believed that it could quickly realize their vision of socialism which they had based on the Soviet model. However, a Cambodian invasion (1978 – 1989) and the China – Vietnam War (1979) served to worsen the country's international solitude and put the nation in a situation where it had been disregarded by international society. Further, the country faced famine (1980 – 1981) at least in part as a result of the party's failure to rapid socialization of the south (1976 – 1981). As a result, political changes came to be a necessity and, at the 6th Communist Party Annual Meeting in 1986, the resolution was passed for the adoption of the Doi Moi measure of transitioning to a "market economy".

In the background of this decision to adopt Doi Moi political measures, not only was there the domestic political and economic situation, but also the influence of international trends. A direct element of influence is the March 1985 appearance of Gorbachev as the leader of the Soviet Union's communist party; the rise of glasnost and perestroika, and the movement toward the total reconstruction of "socialism" from within the Soviet communist party. This brought a dramatic change that would eventually lead to the "end of the Cold War". At the same time, as an indirect influence, the Vietnamese communist party had a significant interest in the road to "reconstruction and liberalization" the Chinese communist party had been driving down since 1976. Essentially, it is safe to say that the Vietnamese political leaders had received both tangible and intangible influences from the "reconstruction" efforts being undertaken by their socialist mentors, the Chinese and the Soviet Union.

With that, the question becomes, what changes were made? To answer this question, we first must take a look at what exactly the original Vietnamese socialist political system was. In short, it can be said that this system was one that was established based on the Soviet socialist model but also added

various Chinese models (in particular, the collaborative society (Gassaku-sha) based on model of people's commune (Jinminkousha) introduced in the 1950's). In theory, a "socialist system" is constructed of three elements: "the abolition of private ownership system", a "planned economy", and a "communist dictatorship". Of those elements, "the partial reintroduction of private ownership system" and "the abandonment of planned economy and introduction of market economy" are major changes, but a "communist dictatorship" is the one element that remains intact. Specifically speaking, a "communist dictatorship" is a political system whose power is concentrated on communist party – government – and the military.

First of all, ideology in socialism is a strong element, and thus there was a need to change ways of thinking. From there, changes in administrative methods and then finally systematic reconstruction were the order in which change would take place. The concept was to discard the road toward a quick socialist reform and work to lay a path toward a softer socialism with the long-term perspective required to accept the existence of elements of capitalism. Also, changes were made to move away from policies that favored a focus on heavy industries to policies that focused on agriculture, particularly increases in the food supply and in the production of export goods.

To accomplish this, there was a need to change methods of administration, and the government decided to introduce a market economy and abolish the system of a planned economy. These changes had a direct impact on the lifestyles of the people. That is to say, the government abolished the system of rationing goods and switched to a system where it distributed cash as a monthly salary in place of ration coupons. It was made so that people would have to acquire all resources, including daily items, from markets. Initially, problems with distribution led to many cases of supply shortages and hyper-inflation, but with advice from financial policy experts from Western countries and international financial organizations, the country was able to resolve these problems within several years by implementing macro financial and monetary policies and measures. The country also implemented partial changes to private ownership system in an effort to increase the people's willingness to produce. That is to say, the government went on to recognize not only government and publicly run companies but also the establishment of private businesses as a way to invigorate free trade. As a way to mitigate the purchases and sales of land, while the government did not go so far as to recognize absolute property rights, it did recognize property rights up to a 50-year period (and also recognized the right of inheritance) and, for all substantive purposes, incorporated a system that allowed land purchases and sales.

Furthermore, where originally the government only had relations with the communist parties of the Soviet Union and Eastern Block countries, China, North Korea, Cuba, and other countries that were on good terms with "socialist countries", the country began normal diplomatic relations with Western developed nations in order to "participate in the international economy". This also was the catalyst for the creation of the "Foreign Investment Act" (1989).

The country enacted many institutional changes as a way to protect these reforms. In 1992, the country's constitution was revised and the legal reform in line with the transition toward a market economy was made. Many laws corresponding to the "transition to a market economy" were made. There also were certain changes made in the political structure. While making it a part of the constitution that the "communist party would lead the nation", new regulations were added, stating that its actions must be "to the extent that is allowable under the constitution and the law". In doing so, emphasis was placed on a "state ruled by law". Further, the national parliament was acknowledged to have legislative power. To replace the old style of a grand meeting of national representatives of the people, establishing a commission within the parliament that could create laws was determined by revisions to national law. Chosen as candidates were people who would actually be able to propose laws, such as those who had graduated from college. The country came to consider that by electing as the majority of the parliament people with a college education, the parliament also would have the intellectual ability to create law.

After the resolution made at the congress at the end of 1986, it was in 1989 – 90 that the country reached a point where movements in line with "Doi Moi" actually became visible. It was 1986 – 89 that ideological acceptance of the "Doi Moi (reconstruction), transition to a market economy, and legal and institutional reforms were all carried out on a significant level. From the perspective of the people's standards of living, the actual domestic system – from a ration system to a monthly salary system and control on the subsequent super-inflation – saw dramatic changes. Occurring conjointly with this was the end of the Cold War = "end of assistance from the Soviet Union". The result of this significant change in international situations was a realization among the people that "Doi Moi" was an irreversible reform.

2. New changes apparent to the Vietnamese communist party

The confidence that came with victory in the Vietnam war against America and the lack of accurate information about the rest of the world that was a result of over 10 years for international isolation, during the initial days of the "Doi Moi" policies, the leaders of the Vietnamese communist party were full of an arrogant and reckless confidence. In particular, as they had declared Doi Moi of their own volition prior to perestroika in the Soviet Union, Vietnam's communist party was highly confident in their self-cleansing and self-reform abilities.

However, the resumption of diplomatic relations with the United States and accession to ASEAN in 1995 would serve to help many of the country's leaders realize the true state of the international society. Particularly, Vietnam had its eyes opened to the economic development of neighboring countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, etc. Historically, while Vietnam always greatly admired yet was strongly wary of China, the country had a tendency to take light of Southeast Asian countries located in the southwest. The country strongly believed that any development in Bangkok

or Kuala Lumpur was nothing of any significance and that it could quickly surpass them. However, after joining ASEAN and information exchange began to take place on a normal basis, the country came to see that, in terms of both industrial infrastructures and human resources, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand made dramatic developments in the 80's and 90's, whereas Vietnam's international isolation left it at a standstill without foreign investments or new technology, and the country was introduced to the reality that it was among the world's poorest countries. At that point, the country changed from the audacious 1976 goal "catching up with France and Japan within 10 years" to the more realistic one of "for now, let's catch up with Thailand as soon as possible".

After normalization of US – Vietnam diplomatic relations fostered exchange with the US, there then came the problem of how to interact with the more than 1 million Vietnamese who defected to America under the former South Vietnamese regime. Financial support from Vietnamese living outside the country had become a major source of support for national finances (1 billion dollars as of 1995 and 2.3 billion by 2003). As such, the country needed to maintain amicable relations with Vietnamese in foreign countries. At the same time, the country was wary of anti-communists coming freely into the country and conducting anti-government activities. This is because many of these people had acquired American citizenship and it was theoretically possible for them to freely enter and leave the country using their US passports. From this point, the words "peaceful removal of communism" began to take a substantial meaning, and national security and military figures became increasingly nervous about the "possibility of a coup d'etat". In particular, officials in the national security agency often monitored the movements of key figures of the former South Vietnamese government and their relatives who returned to the country. Also marked for monitoring were those among ethnic minority groups who had relations with the US military during the Vietnam War. Even though it had been over 20 years since the end of the war, many of those who had experienced the war and those involved with the military compulsively held on to ideas that "Having had its pride insulted, America would someday return to Vietnam for revenge". The emotional trauma known as "Vietnam War Syndrome" had not healed, even as of 1995. From 1995 to 1998, internationalism progressed and the influx of overseas businesses and foreigners increased, but this served only to increase the government's concerns and eventually led to power being held by conservatives such as the national security agency and the military. A typical example is Le Kah Phieu, a military and government official who became the first career military man in Vietnamese history, he was elected as the General Secretary.

However, the Asian financial crisis that began in Thailand in 1997 slowly began to have an effect on Vietnam. Beginning with Korea, which at the time was the second largest investor in Vietnam and pulled out of the country almost completely as a result of its own financial crisis, there was a dramatic decrease in investments from Japan and neighboring ASEAN countries. Further, the Thai baht had become cheap as a result of currency devaluation, and suddenly the export prices of the rice

produced in Thai were undercutting Vietnamese export prices. The international competitiveness of the rice produced in Vietnam dramatically decreased and the country was faced with stagnant exports. In 1998, economic growth that had reached 6 – 8% in the early 90's had plummeted to just 4%. With this, the country came to realize the weight of the effects of international finance and the international economy. Simultaneously, while Vietnam was partners with other ASEAN countries, the country realized that they also were rivals when it came to acquiring investments from developed countries. This realization led to significantly increased efforts to improve investment conditions and pitch Vietnam to investors in developed countries. Further, particularly in the North, there was a growing issue of how to address the rising economic onslaught of China. While there was acceleration in movements to improve cooperative relationships such as joint venture companies and the promotion of trade between the two countries, on the opposing side there were the issues of how to strengthen control the illegal import of textiles and everyday goods, a front on which the two countries were competitors, and enforcement of taxation. Regardless, the 1997 financial crisis forced the country to put to the side physical issues of national safety, such as the danger of war, and brought to the forefront of both the nation and the party the question of how to achieve economic development in a time of globalization while in the midst of fierce competition with countries in a similar position. Policies were adopted that would more aggressively advance international economic cooperation.

Then in 2002, the SARS scare would serve to give Vietnam a new level of consciousness. This new awareness was the realization that “with globalization, the movements of people, things, and money are even more vigorous, that there is a concern that these movements could cause negative effects, such as infectious diseases, to the domestic level, and that it is incredibly difficult to prevent these things from happening. In the end, the only way to stop an infectious disease is to release information, make the general population aware of the danger, and look to receive the cooperation of the people.” The descendants of families that had defected to the US graduated from American universities and have developed computer programs in the Vietnamese language. Many of these programs have been brought into Vietnam. Among college students, there is a significant emphasis on computer education, and the country sets a goal of following behind India as an Asian IT power. Because of this, the IT revolution made it impossible to stop the flow of information, and it is no longer possible to have a system where government and party officials hold information while the people are kept unaware. Conversely, the government has come to realize that it is better to disclose and release as much information as possible. The communist party of Vietnam has an HP (homepage) and proudly reported in January 9, 2004 edition of “Nhan Dan” (Party newspaper) the total number of times the site was accessed in 2003 reached 120 million.

From 2003 to 2004, policies were implemented that would have a dramatic effect on society. One of those policies was the abolishment of the “Two-Children Policy”. Since the foundation of the

country, the government enforced policies of childbirth limitations stating that a family could have “up to 2 children”. Those who violated it were faced with various administrative and societal punishments. However, it was felt that the setting the number of children to 2 per family was more reasonable than China’s “One-Child Policy,” and thus there was never much resistance to this policy. However, partially because according to the Zodiac 2004 is said to be a good year to make children, the government moved to abolish the policy. It also is explained that government administrators felt that there would be little negative effect from the actual abolishment of the “Two-Children Policy” – statistics from advanced countries showed that, as the standard of living increases, the number of children per family will be limited to 2 or 3 naturally – but more than anything most believed that “it was unnatural for the government to determine the number of children a family could have, and this certainly would lead to issues of liberty” (statement by Kim Lai Nguyen).

Further, resolutions were passed to adopt a system of general consumption tax (0%, 5%, 10%). In traditional socialist countries, the concept of “taxation” did not exist but after “Doi Moi” policies, income taxes were established. However, those with high income who fell under taxation standards were limited to a small number of foreigners and high-salaried Vietnamese working at foreign companies. More than 90% of the country’s residents were not paying taxes of any kind. In part to resolve the problem of a constantly depleted national treasury, the government introduced a general consumption tax as a form of indirect taxes. However, in Vietnam, a country where no taxation system has traditionally existed, it was unknown how effectively the country would be able to collect this general consumption tax. With the pay of government workers too low (around 30 dollars at age 30), it had for many years been indicated as a source of bribery and corruption. In part as a way to secure the resources necessary to pay the salaries of government workers, the smooth collection of taxes became an absolute must. Also, from January 1, 2004, as a first for a non-ASEAN country and in an attempt to attract Japanese tourists, the government instituted a 15-day visa exemption for Japanese entering the country for the purposes of tourism. This was a service to Japan, the world’s largest ODA donor country and also a country with 300,000 tourists annually. The year 2003 marked the 30th year since the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and Vietnam. Various events were held, and an investment protection treaty was signed, improving the cooperative relationship between Japan and Vietnam. As they watch China, both Japan and Vietnam are serious about the strengthening relations.

3. Relationship between the party and the government

After the implementation of “Doi Moi” policies, the communist party of Vietnam uniformly began to emphasize “Nation’s economic development, modernization, and industrialization, and the creation of the party’s socialist society were two sides of the same coin”. In particular, in recent years they have strongly emphasized that national (central and local government) policy reform is in

unity with strengthening of party doctrine.

In fact, the government and the party are integrated. At the very least, with the exception of special cases, no official posts above the section chief class can be obtained by non-party members. In the hiring of government workers, no such general examination – hiring based on an objective examination to test whether or not an individual has the ability to become a political chief without questioning one's ideology or beliefs as one may find with the qualifications exam in the issued by the National Personnel Authority in Japan – is used. In fact, in certain sections that are now departments that apply tests to hire one based on English or computer skills but, in general, recruitment is based on the strength of personal recommendations. Though there are strong points of nepotism, such as the credibility of a person's identity or the validity the person's ideology and beliefs, which makes it possible to protect the institution from external enemies, what remains in doubt is whether or not personnel hired through personal connections has the specialized knowledge required to manage a modern government organization and whether or not such personnel has the skills required for effective processing of official duties. The starting salary of a college graduate working in the central administration is approximately 15 dollars per month; a person cannot make a living working solely as a civil servant. These people cannot make a living without holding a separate part-time job. And the salary for even a department chief at 50 is only around 100 dollars per month. Thus, as none of these people can make a living on their monthly salaries, they are forced to do various things outside of their normal jobs. Put aside of a matter of legality, but there are an overwhelming number of people who leave early or take vacations and then do things outside of work in order to make a living. These people take on a wide range of jobs, including raising pigs, cultivating vegetable fields, working as translators, or helping private businesses. It is a part of everyday routine for people to take a commission for work related permits and split the money within the department or for police officers to issue a traffic violation, collect the fine, and then keep a portion of the fine for themselves. . When this escalates, it turns into bribery and corruption. The government has been on the watch working to clamp down on bribery and corruption, but their efforts have been almost completely ineffective. This is because the problem is rather structural. The problem is that the government does not utilize employment examinations, does not pay enough wages for a decent living, does not give raises (wage system), does not employ personnel transfer rules, and in many other ways has not established “laws” necessary in a modern government organization. Vietnam has learned from experience in Japan (intern programs through JICA), received assistance from France, and worked with the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) to create programs but at this point these efforts have yet to be effective.

This is due to the fact that the communist party's finances are dependent on the nation. Party leader and all other senior party members receive a certain amount of salary but these figures are not made public. In particular, it is unclear where those financial resources come from. Support from the

government based on a “political party subsidies law” takes place even in Japan. In theory, this is similar for what takes place in Vietnam, but there is not way to be sure. In recent years, a mandatory retirement system was introduced for party officers. The age of mandatory retirement for central committee members is 70. Central committee members above the age of 70 are not eligible for candidacy at the following party convention and are automatically retired from their positions. The age of mandatory retirement for government workers is 60. National university professors may continue teaching until the age of 70 but are only eligible for official posts up through the age 60. In this way the government has established various regulations regarding age restrictions, but the system as a whole is not yet clear.

It can be said that the Chinese communist party was a step ahead in terms of the effort to place the communist party within the frame of “ruled-by-law”. Vietnam does not yet, for example, have a law that limits a Party Leader to 2 terms for a total of 10 years and does not allow election to a third term.

Singapore’s People’s Action Party headed by Lee Kuan Yew is an example of where the government and party are unified, but in this case management of government employees is very thorough. Recruitment is based on a very difficult qualification examination. For the upper level examination, eligibility just to apply for the test is limited to those who have graduated from National University of Singapore, major universities in the United Kingdom, such as Oxford and Cambridge, or those who have graduated from universities in the United States. Further, Singapore employs a system where those who will qualify to enter a university and those who will not qualify are sorted at the age of 10. Also, incredibly high salaries are paid. Conversely, the level of a person’s work is evaluated with extreme scrutiny. Severe punishments are levied on anyone who is found to be guilty of bribery or corruption. Also, politicians are required to maintain morality. Cabinet ministers receive high salaries, but they are forbidden from drinking on public occasions, totally banned of smoking, and must take an oath to refrain themselves from any activities that could cause private scandals, such as problems with persons of the opposite sex (cabinet members accept positions on the condition that their private lives will be monitored). This is all for the purpose for creating an image of a rectitude government.

4. Relationship between the party and the military.

The history of the communist party of Vietnam is one that the party sought national liberation from being a French colony and fought an armed struggle in order to attain power. Because of this, the military’s level of prestige is very high. The “Vietnamese People’s Liberation Army”, formed in 1944 and headed by Vo Nguyen Giap, is said to be the first people’s armed forces created in Vietnam. For certain, the prestige of the military is high, but at the same time there traditionally existed the element of “civilian control”. Civilian officials are higher in positions than military officials, and it is expected that military officials will fulfill their duty of must, faithfully listening to the orders of

civilian officials as they implement strategy. On this point, there is no tradition of military leaders forming a coup d'état, placing themselves at the head of internal government and residing over politics as has been seen in Thailand, Indonesia, and Burma. With 20 – 30 percent of military being party members, the number of party members in the military is significantly larger than in other organizations.

Dedication to the party is incredibly strong. Further, many military figures have been elected to positions as central party members and government officials, and it is said that as a group they have a hold on the right to speech.

Among those in their original position of national defense, there are many in the military that are anti-America / pro-China. As usual, these people tend to assume that the United States is a potential adversary, but in all likelihood there is no scenario in which the country could come out on the victorious end of a military confrontation. A constant problem is the question of how to modernize the military, but relative to the order of priorities, the country is without a satisfactory budget and has been unable to achieve any sort of sufficient modernization.

Rather, it is safe to say that the more important than that is to find a way of how the military can avoid falling behind in terms of economic development and how the military can avoid becoming a useless existence in society.

In Vietnam, the major role of the military is not only to secure the safety of the nation, but also to maintain the stability of the government. The stability of the government refers not only to performing political education but also for the military, as a single organization, to participate in the formation of that order. This is a broad concept and includes becoming central committee members of the party and working at military-related companies. The power of political committee members in the military, which is responsible for political education, is quite significant. It is assumed that there may be times when the military is dispatched for the purpose of maintaining political stability. Not only that, but partly due to the fact that military salaries are low, the country uses a system where military equipment and barracks – the food, clothing, and lodging for soldiers – are all completely supplied by military-related businesses. The military displays aspects of being an almost completed independent organization. With “Doi Moi” policies enacted, the country was able to rid itself of latent enemies. As a result, the standing army was reduced from a scale of 1 million soldiers to a 500,000. This has in turn led to a large number of unemployed in the military. To solidify the idea of “one military, one family”, the military opened hotels and restaurants, and even entered travel and other service industries in an expansive effort to take measures to secure employment for former personnel. Hotels run by the military are said to have a low rate of crime and actually are performing very well. Also, affiliated businesses receive orders to fulfill private sector demands and are making a variety of goods. In this way, the military as an organization is transforming into a single industrial conglomerate and has come to lead a vital part of the industrial sector.

5. Relationship between the party and the business

Under the socialist system, state-run corporations were economic entities that existed for the purpose of building the socialist state. Needless to say, the heads of government-operated businesses were all party members, and they protected the employment of many workers. As such, even after the implementation of “Doi Moi” policies, voices were raised for the protection of state-run corporations, calling them the economic infrastructure of socialism. However, with the progression of “reconstruction,” came the start of domestic operations by many foreign businesses. As the effective management by foreign businesses became noticeable, many arguments began to be heard regarding the validity of the nation supporting, as it had done up to this point, inefficiently managed state-run corporations. From the economic perspective, it is normal for inefficient corporations to fall out of the market. There was an emergence of the opinion that saving corporations that were unlikely to improve in the future would be a waste of the nation's finances.

Beginning in around the year 2000, the government began to turn toward the direction of aggressive policies aimed at the restructuring and demutualization of state-run corporations. In 2003, approximately 500 state-run corporations were restructured. In 2004, the government is planning the restructuring or demutualization of some 2,800 state-run corporations. Most likely, this policy, including the weeding out of state-run businesses, reflects the determination that Vietnamese industries could not have a future unless the country selectively cultivated corporations that could compete on the international level. However, at the same time, these changes directly lead to the question of how to ensure influence of the communist party in companies that had been restructured or converted to stock corporations.

Further, in the case of Vietnam, there was the equally old and new question of from which level of society the corporate managers will emerge/ With the country turned desolate from war over such a long period of time, Vietnam had not raised managers who would look 20 or 30 years into the future. Also, Vietnam, which had no capitalist-like resource accumulation process, was without sufficient capital. In addition, commerce and distribution industries traditionally were controlled by the Chinese, and Vietnamese people had been left to be seen by the world as “small merchants” who mostly did business in Cambodia and Laos. The network of people built by the Chinese for countless generations, as well as the human and material resources and the information and know-how that are a direct result of that network, did not exist in Vietnam. Even though they may have the desire to create corporations that can be competitive on the global market, the fact is that Vietnam does not have any single viable infrastructure. If one were to name one, it would be the more than 3 million Overseas Vietnamese, living in various foreign countries. Liberated from political and ideological hostility, the idea now is to give special treatment to overseas Vietnamese so that they return to their motherland and pour their efforts into industrial development. It is likely that

this may be the only way to quickly and dramatically elevate the industrial capabilities of Vietnam.

When that happens, to what extent will the communist party be able to control them? In all likelihood, the leaders of the communist party of Vietnam are contemplating with great interest the results of the decision to welcome Chinese business managers as communist party members.

In conclusion

The communist party of Vietnam looks to learn from the experiences of the communist party of China and Singapore's Lee Kwan Yu, as well as the state of the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan and maintain their system of "one-party dominance by the communist party". This is not the introduction of a multi-party political system resulting from "democratization" that has been demanded by advanced countries in the West. Instead, the country, while mainly referring to the experiences of China and Singapore, is attempting to change to a system that has its foundation in the one-dimensional rule of the communist party in relationship with government and with businesses, but aligns its ways of thinking, management, and system with the demands of the people and the changing times. If successful, the country's future development – will the next 20 – 30 years see Vietnam continue with a "one party dominance by communist party" based on the idea that, as put by the communist party of China, "political stability is the key to economic development" or, perhaps in a more advanced or progressive (?) transformation, the future middle class will conform to the belief of "single party rule as the key to political stability" and eventually give birth to a semi-permanent regime – is something to be watched closely.

As a researcher, the goal is to continue experimental study on the subtle questions such as, what is the reality of the relationship between the party and the government, the relationship between the government and the military, and the relationship between the government and businesses, and work to clarify on a theoretical level the question of how the country will implement coherent policies or will mutual incoherence result in collapse.